

The Inauguration: The Presidential Address

Transcript of Second Inaugural Address by Reagan

Special to The New York Times

Following is a transcript of President Reagan's Inaugural Address in Washington yesterday, as recorded by The New York Times:

Senator Mathias, Chief Justice Burger, Vice President Bush, Speaker O'Neill, Senator Dole, Reverend Clergy and members of my family and friends, and my fellow citizens:

This day has been made brighter with the presence here of one who for a time has been absent. Senator John Stennis, God bless you and welcome back.

There is, however, one who is not with us today. Representative Gillis Long of Louisiana left us last night. And I wonder if we could all join in a moment of silent prayer.

Amen.

There are no words to — adequate to express my thanks for the great honor that you've bestowed on me. I will do my utmost to be deserving of your trust.

This is, as Senator Mathias told us, the 50th time that we, the people, have celebrated this historic occasion. When the first President George Washington, placed his hand upon the Bible, he stood less than a single day's journey by horseback from raw, untamed wilderness. There were four million Americans in a Union of 13 states.

Today we are 60 times as many in a Union of 50 states. We've lighted the world with our inventions, gone to the aid of mankind wherever in the world there was a cry for help, journeyed to the moon and safely returned.

So much has changed. And yet we stand together as we did two centuries ago.

When I took this oath four years ago, I did so in a time of economic stress. Voices were raised saying that we had to look to our past for the greatness and glory. But we, the present-day Americans, are not given to looking backward. In this blessed land, there is always a better tomorrow.

Meaning of New Beginning

Four years ago, I spoke to you of a new beginning, and we have accomplished that. But in another sense, our new beginning is a continuation of that beginning created two centuries ago when, for the first time in history, government of the people, by the people, for the people, was not our master. It is our servant; its only power that which we, the people, allowed it to have.

That system has never failed us. But for a time we failed the system. We asked things of government that government was not equipped to give. We yielded authority to the national government that properly belonged to states or to local governments or to the people themselves. We allowed taxes and inflation to rob us of our earnings and savings and watched the great industrial machine that had made us the most productive people on earth slow down and the number of unemployed increase.

By 1980 we knew it was time to renew our faith, to strive with all our strength toward the ultimate in individual freedom consistent with an orderly society.

We believed then and now there are no limits to growth and human progress when men and women are free to follow their dreams. And we were right. And we were right to believe that tax rates have been reduced, inflation cut dramatically and more people are employed than ever before in our history.

We are creating a nation once again vibrant, robust and alive. But there are many mountains yet to climb. We will not rest until every American enjoys the fullness of freedom, dignity and opportunity as our birthright. It is our birthright as citizens of this great republic.

Fruits of Meeting Challenge

And if we meet this challenge, these will be years when Americans have restored their confidence and tradition of progress; when our values of faith, family, work and neighborhood were restored for a modern age; when our economy was finally freed from government's grip; when we made sincere efforts at meaningful arms reductions by rebuilding our defenses, our economy, and developing new technologies helped preserve peace in a troubled world; when America courageously supported the struggle for individual liberty, self-government and free enterprise throughout the world and turned the tide of history away from totalitarian darkness and into the warm sunlight of human freedom.

My fellow citizens, our nation is poised for greatness. We must do what we know is right and do it with all our might. Let history say of us, "these were golden years — when the American Revolution was reborn, when freedom gained new life and America reached for her best."

Our two-party system has solved us — served us, I should say, well over the years,

but never better than in those times of great challenge, when we came together not as Democrats or Republicans but as Americans united in the common cause.

Two of our Founding Fathers, a Boston lawyer named Adams and a Virginia planter named Jefferson, members of that remarkable group who met in Independence Hall and dared to think they could start the world over again, left us an important lesson. They had become, in the years spent in government, bitter political rivals. In the Presidential election of 1800, then years later, when both were retired and age had softened their anger, they began to speak to each other again through letters.

Lesson of 2 Founding Fathers

A bond was re-established between those two who had helped create this government of ours.

In 1823, the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, they both died. They died on the same day, within a few hours of each other. And that day was the Fourth of July.

In one of those letters exchanged in the sunset of their lives, Jefferson wrote, "It carries me back to the times when, beset with difficulties and dangers, we were fellow laborers in the same cause, struggling for what is most valuable to man, his right of self-government. Laboring always at the same oar, with some wave ever ahead threatening to overwhelm us, and yet passing harmless we rode through the storm with heart and hand."

Well, with heart and hand, let us stand as one today: one people under God determined that our future shall be worthy of our past. As we do, we must not repeat the well-intentioned errors of our past. We must never again abuse the trust of working men and women by sending their earnings on a futile chase after the spiraling demands of a bloated Federal establishment. You elected us in 1980 to end this prescription for disaster. And I don't believe you re-elected us in 1984 to reverse course.

The heart of our efforts is one idea vindicated by 25 straight months of economic growth: freedom and incentives unleash the drive and entrepreneurial genius that are the core of human progress. We have begun to increase the rewards for work, savings and investment; reduce the increase in the cost and size of government and its interference in people's lives.

We must simplify our tax system, make it more fair and bring the rates down for all who work and earn. We must think anew and move with a new boldness so every American who seeks work can find work; so the least among us shall have an equal chance to achieve the greatest things — to be heroes who heal our sick, feed the hungry, protect peace among nations and leave this world a better place.

New American Emancipation

The time has come for a new American emancipation, a great national drive to tear down economic barriers and liberate the spirit of enterprise in the most distressed areas of our country. My friends, together we can do this, and do it we must, so help me God.

From new freedom will spring new opportunities for growth, a more productive, fulfilled and united people and a stronger America, an America that will lead the technological revolution and also open its mind and heart and soul to the treasures of literature, music and poetry, and the values of faith, courage and love.

A dynamic economy, with more citizens working and paying taxes, will be our strongest tool to bring down budget deficits. But an almost unbroken 50 years of deficit spending has finally brought us to a time of reckoning. We've come to a turning point, a moment for hard decisions. I have asked the Cabinet and my staff a question and now I put the same question to all of you. If not us, who? And if not now, when? It must be done by all of us going forward with a program aimed at reaching a balanced budget. We can then begin reducing the national debt.

I will shortly submit a budget to the Congress aimed at freezing government program spending for the next year. Beyond this, we must take further steps to permanently control government's power to tax and spend.

We must act now to protect future generations from government's desire to spend its citizens' money and tax them into servitude when the bills come due. Let us make it unconstitutional for the Federal Government to spend more than the Federal Government takes in.

We have already started returning to the people and to state and local governments responsibilities better handled by them. Now, there is a place for the Federal Government



INDOOR INAUGURAL ADDRESS: President Reagan speaking in the Rotunda of the Capitol. Seated at right was his wife, Nancy. Next to her were Vice President Bush and his wife, Barbara. Standing immediately behind Mr. Reagan were, from left, James C. Wright Jr., House majority leader; Bob Dole, Senate majority leader; and Elizabeth H. Dole, Transportation Secretary.

in matters of social compassion. But our fundamental goals must be to reduce dependency and upgrade the dignity of those who are infirm or disadvantaged. And here a growing economy and support from family and community offer our best chance for a society where compassion is a way of life, where the old and infirm are cared for, the young and, yes, the unborn, protected, and the unfortunate looked after and made self-sufficient.

Now there is another area where the Federal Government can play a part. As an older

Highlights of the Address

By 1980, we knew it was time to renew our faith, to strive with all our strength toward the ultimate in individual freedom consistent with an orderly society. We believed then and now there are no limits to growth and human progress when men and women are free to follow their dreams. And we were right to believe that.

We must never again abuse the trust of working men and women by sending their earnings on a futile chase after the spiraling demands of a bloated Federal establishment. You elected us in 1980 to end this prescription for disaster. And I don't believe you re-elected us in 1984 to reverse course.

A growing economy and support from family and community offer our best chance for a society where compassion is a way of life, where the old and infirm are cared for, the young and, yes, the unborn, protected, and the unfortunate looked after and made self-sufficient.

America must remain freedom's staunchest friend, for freedom is our best ally, and it is the world's only hope to conquer poverty and preserve peace. Every blow we inflict against poverty will be a blow against its dark allies of oppression and war.

American, I remember a time when people of different race, creed or ethnic origin in our land found hatred and prejudice installed in social custom and, yes, in law. There's no story more heartening in our history than the progress that we've made toward the brotherhood of man that God intended for us. Let us resolve: There will be no turning back or hesitation on the road to an America rich in dignity and abundant with opportunity for all our citizens.

Let us resolve that we, the people, will build an American opportunity society in which all of us — white and black, rich and poor, young and old — will go forward together, arm in arm. Again, let us remember that, though our heritage is one of blood lines from every corner of the earth, we are all Americans pledged to carry on this last best hope of man on earth.

Safety and Security

And I have spoken of our domestic goals, and the limitations we should put on our national government. Now let me turn to a task that is the primary responsibility of national government — the safety and security of our people.

Today we utter no prayer more fervently than the ancient prayer for peace on earth. Yet history has shown that peace does not come, nor will our freedom be preserved, by good will alone. There are those in the world who scorn our vision of human dignity and freedom. One nation, the Soviet Union, has conducted the greatest military buildup in the history of man, building arsenals of awesome offensive weapons.

We've made progress in restoring our defense capability. But much remains to be done. There must be no wavering by us, nor any doubts by others, that America will meet her responsibilities to remain free, secure, and at peace.

There is only one way safely and legitimately to reduce the cost of national security, and that is to reduce the need for it. And this we're trying to do in negotiations with the Soviet Union. We're not just discussing limits on a further increase of nuclear weapons. We seek, instead, to reduce their number. We seek the total elimination, one day, of nuclear weapons from the face of the earth.

Now for decades we and the Soviets have lived under the threat of mutual assured destruction; if either resorted to the use of nuclear weapons, the other could retaliate and destroy the one who had started it. Is there ether logic or morality in believing that if one side threatens to kill tens of millions of our people, our only recourse is to threaten killing tens of millions of theirs?

Missile Security Shield

I have approved a research program to find, if we can, a security shield that will destroy nuclear missiles before they reach their target. It wouldn't kill people, it would destroy weapons. It wouldn't militarize space,

it would help demilitarize the arsenals of earth. It would render nuclear weapons obsolete. We will meet with the Soviets hoping that we can agree on a way to rid the world of the threat of nuclear destruction.

We strive for peace and security, heartened by the changes all around us. Since the turn of the century, the number of democracies in the world has grown fourfold. Human freedom is on the march, and nowhere more so than in our own hemisphere. Freedom is one of the deepest and noblest aspirations of the human spirit. People worldwide hunger for the right of self-determination, for these inalienable rights that make for human dignity and progress.

America must remain freedom's staunchest friend, for freedom is our best ally, and it is the world's only hope to conquer poverty and preserve peace. Every blow we inflict against poverty will be a blow against its dark allies of oppression and war. Every victory for human freedom will be a victory for world peace.

So we go forward today a nation still mighty in its youth and powerful in its purpose. With our alliances strengthened, with our economy leading the world to a new age of economic expansion, we look to a future rich in possibilities. And all of this is because we worked and acted together, not as members of political parties, but as Americans.

My friends, we, we live in a world that's lit by lightning. So much is changing and will change, but so much endures and transcends time.

Echoes of Our Past

History is a ribbon, always unfurling; history is a journey. And as we continue on our journey we think of those who traveled before us. We stand again at the steps of this symbol of our democracy, or we would've been standing at the steps if it hadn't gotten so cold. Now, we're standing inside this symbol of our democracy, and we see and hear again the echoes of our past.

A general falls to his knees in the hard snow of Valley Forge; a lonely President paces the darkened halls and ponders, ponders his struggle to preserve the Union; the men of the Alamo call out encouragement to each other; a settler pushes west and sings a song, and the song echoes out forever and fills the unknown air.

It is the American sound. It is hopeful, big-hearted, idealistic — daring, decent and fair. That's our heritage, that's our song. We sing it still. For all our problems, our differences, we are together as of old. We raise our voices to the God who is the author of this most tender music. And may He continue to hold us close as we fill the world with our song, sound — in unity, affection and love. One people under God, dedicated to the dream of freedom that He has placed in the human heart, called upon now to pass that dream on to a waiting and a hopeful world.

God bless you and may God bless America.

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THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1985

The Inauguration: Reagan Takes Center Stage



WARMING UP: Members of the Glen A. Wilson Wildcat Marching Band, from Hacienda Heights, Calif., defrosting their instruments in front of a portable heater before performing yesterday at the Capital Center in Landover, Md.

For Two Troupers, a Day of Celebrations Ad-Lib

Continued From Page 1

protect the pomp of the day's curtailed activities, the Reagan knack for making a virtue of a shifting stage was once again on display. White House officials were pleased at Mr. Reagan's adapting to an indoor swearing-in, lowering and softening his voice from his outdoor cadences to make a more effective delivery of his Inaugural Address in the echoing Rotunda.

The scores of thousands of would-be witnesses whose outdoor inaugural tickets proved worthless had to resort to television, and there they could see an eclectic display of celebrity profiles. These included Rotunda statues of historic heroes, dozens of flesh-and-blood senators and James Stewart, Mr. Reagan's old Hollywood friend, who gazed raptly from the crowd as if he were still cast as Mr. Smith gone to Washington.

Like an Inn in Snow Belt

The White House resembled a busy winter-bound inn, starting with a switchboard wake-up call to the Reagans at 7:30 A.M. and ending with the glow of fireplaces.

The Reagans had breakfast trays of orange juice, cold cereal, decaffeinated coffee and wheat toast with honey. Then they moved like old troupers toward the altered day of ceremonial prayer, inaugural oratory, wardrobe changes and nine parties crammed with envious, celebrating politicians.

The day offered the Reagans various challenges, including a caloric threat when they sat down to lunch with Congressional leaders. The menu included mousse of sole, medallions of veal, praline soufflé and California wines.

Closer to home, the Reagans had to track down a baby sitter for the youngest Reagan grandchild, Michael and Colleen's 20-month-old daughter, Ashley, while most of the rest of the clan went out to the balls. The Reagans' son, Ron, and his wife, Doria, chose to invite friends over for a less public evening at the White House while the President was out.

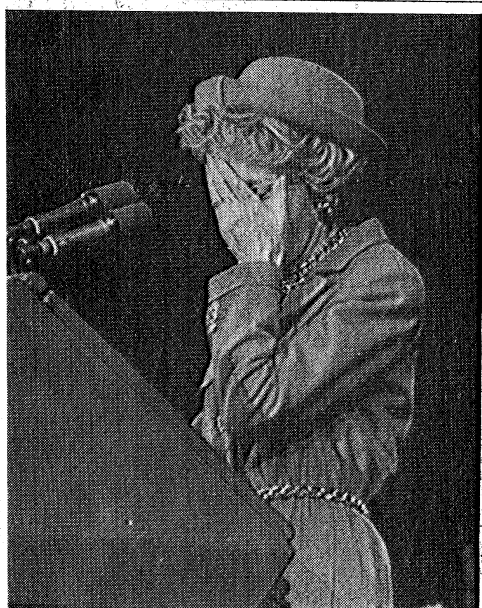
Back Played at Church

The sounds of the Reagans' day extended from Back at St. John's Church across from the White House in the morning to some Lester Lanin at one of the busy dance floors in the evening where celebrants gladly swayed to the Reagans' tune.

The President and his wife did their own swaying at the Capital Center in midafternoon when a booming band version of their campaign theme, "God Bless the U.S.A.," proved infectious and they joined hands to move in pace with the arena crowd.

David Hemphill, an 18-year-old member of the band from Sapulpa High School in Oklahoma, said his group's weeks of fund-raising and 30-hour bus trip to Washington had been rescued by the Reagans' visit even though the parade was frozen out. "It was worth it," he said.

The colors of the Reagan's long day were mostly patriotic. There was the red in the cheeks of tourists who began stopping outside the White House to photograph the empty and useless million-dollar reviewing stand. There was the blue of the Adolfo outfit and hat worn by Mrs. Reagan. There was the wintry whiteness of the capitol itself, which seemed to reflect the lines of "America the Beautiful," sung to the Reagans at St. John's Church early in the day. "Thine alabaster cities gleam, undimmed by human tears."



FORGETFUL MOMENT: Nancy Reagan after neglecting to introduce the President at gathering of marching bands. "I was supposed to introduce my roommate who happens to be my husband who happens to be the President of the United States," she said.

Both Parties Applaud Call For Cooperation on Goals

By STEVEN V. ROBERTS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 21 — Lawmakers of both parties applauded President Reagan's call today for a bipartisan approach to the nation's major problems, but Democrats warned that he would have to get more deeply involved in the legislative process if Congress was to find solutions.

The inauguration of a President "is not a day for partisan politics," said Senator Alan Cranston, Democrat of California, and it was perhaps symbolic that the lawmakers crowded into the Capitol Rotunda to hear the President were not separated along party lines, as they are at legislative sessions.

The President's speech generated a warm response among many lawmakers that was summed up by Representative Ben Erdreich, an Alabama Democrat. "The President has a wonderful way of articulating the goals that all Americans share," Mr. Erdreich said. "Today, as he put it, we're all Americans."

Former Senator Howard H. Baker Jr., who was the Republican leader, took note of the instability that has plagued American politics in recent years. "It was a good second Inaugural Address," he said, "and we haven't had one of those in a while."

An Appeal for Cooperation

As the legislators milled about the Rotunda after the speech, many said they were most struck by the President's appeal for less partisanship in Congress and his plea that the legislative system works best "when we come together not as Democrats or Republicans, but as Americans united in this common cause."

Senator Patrick J. Leahy, Democrat of Vermont, offered a comment that was typical. "I hope the President realizes that got his biggest applause when he talked about bipartisan approaches," Mr. Leahy said. "I hope he realizes that the best chance he has of working out a bipartisan coalition is right now, if he wants to, on the budget and the deficit. If the opportunity is lost, it will be lost for the rest of his term."

But many Democrats argued that Mr. Reagan would have to change his approach toward Congress to achieve that coalition in his second term. In particular, many Democrats, such as Representative Bob Carr, Democrat of Michigan, are concerned because they say Mr. Reagan is not willing to make the tough and unpopular decisions necessary to trim the Federal budget deficit and is leaving the dirty work to Congress.

"Bipartisanship for this President appears to be a one-way street," Mr. Carr said. "I'm all for bipartisanship, but it's got to be a two-way street."

Representative Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri, chairman of the Democratic Caucus, added: "The question remains whether the President really wants to make the accommodations necessary to get something done. That's not clear yet."

Senator Alan K. Simpson, of Wyoming, the Republican whip, noted that

Mr. Reagan talked with feeling of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, who had been foes before reconciling in the autumn of their political lives. In the Senator's view, the President could well have been talking about himself and Representative Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., the Speaker of the House.

After mentioning the reconciliation between the two Founders, Mr. Simpson said of the President and the Speaker: "I hope we get that same thing between these two old war horses."

Mr. O'Neill, who has been one of the President's more strident critics, issued a conciliatory statement today. "I will do everything I can to work with President Reagan in making 'the brotherhood of man' a reality," he said.

Even some leading Republicans differed pointedly with Mr. Reagan on specific budget policies. Bob Dole of Kansas, the Senate majority leader, said Congress would provide less money for the Pentagon than Mr. Reagan plans to request in his budget message, now scheduled Feb. 4.

Time to 'Take Things Back'

Like many other segments of the Government, Mr. Dole said, the military will have to swallow some "bitter medicine" in Mr. Reagan's second term. Speaking of the need for deep budget cuts, Mr. Dole said: "We were giving things out during the first term. Now we have to take things back."

Senator John H. Chafee, Republican of Rhode Island, said Mr. Reagan would eventually have to reverse his adamant stand against new taxes if the Federal deficits are to be brought under control.

"When all is said and done, we'll need taxes to make it work," said Mr. Chafee, a member of the Finance Committee.

On the subject of taxes, Mr. Reagan made an unusually specific appeal today for passage of a bill to overhaul the tax code and reduce individual rates.

But Representative Dick Cheney, Republican of Wyoming, said lobbyists for interests that are protected by the current code were already working against the plan.

"Congress has adopted a wait-and-see attitude," he said. "We're reluctant up here to take on all those interests unless we get something out of it."

Different Sensitivities Seen

A number of lawmakers maintained that in his speech today, Mr. Reagan seemed more sympathetic toward arms control. Senator Chafee said the "biggest difference" between the President today and four years ago was "his sensitivity to the peace issue, the disarmament issue."

But Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr., a Delaware Democrat, said the President had become less sensitive to the needs of the poor. "He didn't even pay attention to this time the disadvantaged," Mr. Biden said.

Senator John Melcher, Democrat of Montana, said the President's speech was "out of touch with the reality of an endangered economy which is teetering on a farm-led, farm-fed depression."

Pravda Asserts Rites Befit 'Government of Millionaires'

MOSCOW, Jan. 21 (UPI) — The Soviet Union said Sunday that celebrations of President Reagan's second inauguration would cost \$12.5 million and added that the cost proved his was a "government of millionaires, for millionaires and by millionaires."

The Communist Party newspaper Pravda said that aerospace, oil, banking and insurance companies lent \$8 million to organizers of inaugural festivities.

"By helping their friends in the administration, they not without reason — expect to be given considerable compensation, for as the saying goes, he who pays the piper calls the tune," Pravda said.

Pravda said the inclusion of "ordinary" people in parts of the four-day run of inaugural activities was an effort to prove the administration is one of the people. "But, it is unwise to find ordinary people among millionaires, bankers, and land owners who govern affairs in the White House," it said.

Upbeat Bush Takes Oath Surrounded by Friends and Family

By GERALD M. BOYD
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 21 — George Herbert Walker Bush, surrounded by friends and family and with a hand resting on the same Bible he used four years ago, was publicly sworn in today for a second term as Vice President.

At a ceremony beneath the dome of the Capitol, Mr. Bush firmly repeated the oath of office as it was administered by his longtime friend, former Justice Potter Stewart of the Supreme Court. Mr. Bush's wife, Barbara, held the Bible, which was a gift from the Rev. Billy Graham.

Praise for Ceremony

doors after cold swept the city.

Mr. Bush said a "marvelous ceremony" had been brought to the "attention of the American people and indeed worldwide."

In consoling the students, who had planned to participate in the parade, Mr. Bush said:

"Thanks for all you're doing, thanks for what you've done. My only regret is that we didn't get to sit in that reviewing stand and see the majesty of the parade, but I think in a sense, we understand certainly what it is you have brought here."

No Apprehension Now

Aides described Mr. Bush, who spent part of the afternoon working out in the House Gymnasium, as feeling "terrific" and without the apprehension with which he greeted the job four years ago.

"He feels very good, great," said Peter Teely, Mr. Bush's press spokesman. "It's been a very pleasant day."

departure of some key advisers and White House aides, including James A. Baker 3d, William P. Clark and Edwin Meese 3d.

Easing in Relationship

"With these trusted people leaving, there is a certain ease of relationship between the President and me now after four years of growing in that sense," Mr. Bush said today on the ABC television program "Good Morning America."

Mr. Bush said he wanted "to support the President, support our policies."

"I have had a hand in formulating them and shaping them," he said.

After the interview, Mr. Bush, 60 years old, attended services at St. John's Church. He then went to the inauguration ceremony, where a number of family members were on hand, including two granddaughters, two brothers, a sister and all five of his children.

After the Vice President took the oath beneath murals depicting American historical scenes, Mrs. Bush gave him a kiss. He acknowledged Justice Stewart with a "thank you, Potter," Mr. Stewart, who attended Yale University, as did Mr. Bush, had also sworn in Mr. Bush as chief delegate to the United Nations, as Director of Central Intelligence and as Vice President in 1981.

The Marine Band then struck up "Hail, Columbia," the Vice Presidential theme.

As Mr. Reagan's party departed the Rotunda, Mr. Bush bent over for a brief conversation with Senator John C. Stennis, Democrat of Mississippi, who has been ill. The Vice President also warmly greeted other senators and representatives packed into the Rotunda, which is less than 100 feet across.

On Sunday, at the official swearing-in, Mr. Bush had used a Bible presented to him by the Rev. Thomas

where Mrs. Bush used to teach Sunday school.

Both it and the Bible from Mr. Graham used today were opened up to a passage from Ecclesiastes, which says: "To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven: A time to be born, and a time to die; a time to plant, and a time to pluck up that which is planted; a time to kill, and a time to heal; a time to break down, and a time to build up; A time to rend, and a time to sew; a time to keep silence and a time to speak."

Refunds for Parade Tickets

WASHINGTON, Jan. 21 (UPI) — The Presidential inaugural committee said today it would provide refunds for tickets for the canceled inaugural parade. The ticket holder should send tickets with an addressed, stamped envelope to Parade Operations, P.O. Box 1985, C.I.A.-RDP90-00552R000505370048-1 ton. D.C. 20013-1985. The re-